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Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
Current Handling: STADIS
Document Number: 1994ROME16645

Page: 1

Channel: n/a

DATE = 1994/10/18 00:00:00

DOC_NBR = 1994ROME16645

RELEASED IN PART
1.4(D)

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SUBJECT = RWANDA AT THREE MONTHS

TAGS = PREL, EAID, US, RW

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ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 ANHR-01 EB-01 EUR-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 SS-00
/004W

-----7E621E 181615Z /25

O 181538Z OCT 94
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0795

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 ROME 016645

STADIS////////// DECAPTIONED

FOR AF AND AF/C FROM RAWSON

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EAID, US, RW
SUBJECT: RWANDA AT THREE MONTHS

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. THREE MONTHS AFTER THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT
CHASED THE FORMER RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND ARMY OUT TO
GOMA AND THEN DECLARED A CEASE-FIRE, KIGALI IS
BEGINNING TO FEEL LIKE A CAPITAL CITY. ELECTRICITY
AND WATER SERVICE HAVE NOW EXTENDED FROM CENTRAL
CITY TO NEWER OFFICES AND RESIDENCES ON KACIRU.
VISITING THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR TWO DAYS AGO, I
WAS TWICE INTERRUPTED BY THE EXQUISITE SOUND OF A
TELEPHONE RINGING IN HIS OFFICE. SOMEWHERE THE

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GOVERNMENT CAME UP WITH ENOUGH SCRIP TO PAY CIVIL

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
DATE/CASE ID: 09 APR 2004 200301834

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SERVANTS TWO MONTHS' WAGES. THE AIRPORT IS CROWDED ON SATURDAY MORNINGS WITH PASSENGERS FOR THE WEEKLY SABENA FLIGHT. MILITARY 4X4'S ARE STILL THE VEHICLES OF CHOICE FOR THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT, BUT THEY WHISKED AWAY THE IRISH PRESIDENT IN A NEW BLACK MERCEDES ON HER ARRIVAL LAST WEEK.

3. THE WRIT OF THIS CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT DOES NOT EXTEND FAR, HOWEVER. GOVERNMENT MINISTERS MORE EASILY JET TO INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS THAN THEY MOTOR TO UP-COUNTRY PROJECTS. WHEN THEY TRAVEL TO THE INTERIOR, MINISTERS TEND TO TRAVEL IN PACKS, PRESUMABLY TO KEEP AN EYE ON EACH OTHER AND TO AFFIRM THEIR AUTHORITY THROUGH NUMBERS. MINISTER OF PLAN BIRARA TURNED DOWN MY SUGGESTION OF A PRIVATE VISIT TO HIS ANCESTRAL HOME IN MUTURA AND HIS "MOTHER" ROSAMUND CARR WHO HAS RETURNED THERE; HE WAS AFRAID FOR HIS OWN SECURITY. BEYOND THE PALE OF CAPITAL CITY, RWANDA IS A COUNTRY OCCUPIED BY THE MILITARY AND MANAGED BY NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS. IN KIGALI AND REGIONAL CENTERS, A BRISK COMMERCE, FUELED BY HUMANITARIAN DOLLARS AND PILLAGED GOODS, CARRIES FORWARD ITS TRANSACTIONS WITHOUT BENEFIT OF GOVERNMENT CONTROL THROUGH BANKS, TAXES OR LICENSES.

4. DWINDLING RESETTLEMENT FLOWS IN THE PAST WEEKS REMIND US THAT ONLY ONE SIDE HAS DECLARED A CEASE-FIRE TO RWANDA'S CIVIL WAR. THIS TRAGIC OPERA MAY NOT YET BE OVER. PEOPLE DO NOT COME HOME FOR

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SEVERAL REASONS: THEY ARE INTIMIDATED BY CAMP LEADERSHIP, THEY ARE TOO POOR OR TOO TIRED TO MAKE THE JOURNEY, OR THEY MAY DOUBT THAT THEY CAN GET BACK ONTO THEIR PROPERTY. MANY ARE SCARED OF RPF REPRISALS: WITHIN SUSPICIOUS HUTU MINDS, ANY INCIDENT OF REPRISAL IS QUICKLY PERCEIVED AS INTENTIONAL, SYSTEMATIC POLICY. SOME RPF MAY BE CARRYING OUT REPRISALS TO SCARE AWAY HUTU'S AND RESERVE LAND FOR THEIR EXILE RELATIVES. BUT THE FLOW STOPS MOST QUICKLY WHEN EX-GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP THREATENS RENEWED FIGHTING WHICH WOULD PUT REFUGEES ONCE MORE IN THE MIDDLE OF RWANDA'S STRUGGLE FOR POWER. RWANDA'S ELITE HAS THROUGHOUT THIS CONFLICT CALLOUSLY USED CIVILIAN POPULATIONS AS

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TACTICAL COVER FOR THEIR STRATEGIC AIMS; THEY ARE
LIKELY TO DO SO AGAIN.

5. COMPARATIVE OBSERVATIONS OVERTIME SHOW THAT THE
POPULATION OF RETURNEES IS GROWING; FORMERLY
DESOLATE AREAS AROUND GITARAMA AND BUTARE HAVE
BECOME LARGELY REPOPULATED. THE STILL EMPTY SECTORS
OF THE SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ARE PRECISELY WHERE
UNAMIR TROOPS AND HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVERS ARE NEEDED.
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE BEGINNING TO
REFOCUS CONCENTRATION FROM THE SOUTHWEST AND
NORTHWEST TO THE SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST. THEY SHOULD
ALSO RETURN AND REINFORCE ASSISTANCE IN BYUMBA AND
THE NORTHEAST, AREAS LEFT BEHIND AS THE COURSE OF
CONFLICT AND THE CENTERING OF POWER IN KIGALI DREW
NGO'S SOUTHWARD. ACROSS THE COUNTRY, NGO'S NEED TO
SET UP MINIMAL HUMANITARIAN INFRASTRUCTURE WHICH CAN

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OFFER RETURNING POPULATION PERSONAL SECURITY, FOOD
SECURITY AND SECURITY OF PROPERTY AS THEY RECOMMENCE
THEIR LIVES ON RWANDA'S THOUSAND HILLS.

6. AN INFORMAL ECONOMY IN PETTY TRADE IS BOOMING.
BUT TRADITIONAL ECONOMIC OPERATORS HAVE TROUBLE
GETTING BACK INTO THE GAME WITHOUT LOANS TO
REHABILITATE PROPERTIES OR CLEAR ASSURANCES FROM
GOVERNMENT REGARDING THEIR INVESTMENTS. THEY ALSO
NEED THE MARKETS WHICH EMBASSIES AND DEVELOPMENT
PROJECTS CUSTOMARILY PROVIDED; UNAMIR AND NGO'S TEND
TO PURCHASE OFF-SHORE. IN THE EAST, RWANDA'S
LIVESTOCK SECTOR HAS REVIVED AS TUTSI EXILES HAVE
MOVED IN OVER 200,000 HEAD OF CATTLE. AVAILABLE
PASTURE CANNOT LONG SUPPORT THAT WEIGHT AND THE
LANDS OF KAGERA PARK ARE CLEARLY THREATENED.
REBUILDING SLAUGHTER HOUSES AND REESTABLISHING
COMMERCE IN MEAT AND SKINS MIGHT HELP THESE EXILES
TRANSFORM THEIR ON-THE-HOOF SAVINGS INTO INVESTMENTS

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INFO LOG-00 ANHR-01 EB-01 EUR-01 ADS-00 SSO-00 SS-00
/004W

-----7E6234 181616Z /25

O 181538Z OCT 94
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0796

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 ROME 016645

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FOR AF AND AF/C FROM RAWSON

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, EAID, US, RW
SUBJECT: RWANDA AT THREE MONTHS

IN RWANDA'S EMERGING ECONOMY. BUT HUTU PEASANTS
MUST ALSO RETURN TO GROW COFFEE, PICK TEA AND WATCH
AFTER GORILLAS IF RWANDA'S CHIEF MONEY MAKERS
(COFFEE, TEA AND TOURISM) ARE AGAIN TO FLOURISH.
THE GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO DEVISE WAYS OF
EXTRACTING RENTS FROM SUCH PRODUCTION IF IT IS EVER
TO PAY BACK THE WORLD BANK OR OTHER LENDERS FOR
LOANS NECESSARY TO RELAUNCH THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND
ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE.

7. TO GET SECURITY FOR ITS PEOPLE AND START UP A
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VIABLE ECONOMY, RWANDA MUST DEAL WITH PROBLEMS ON
ITS BORDERS. TWO MILLION REFUGEES, WHO HAVE YET TO
CONCEDE THE GOVERNMENT'S VICTORY, ARE DESTABILIZING
THE WHOLE REGION. DESPITE LIMITATIONS OF THEIR
SECURITY SERVICES, BOTH TANZANIA AND ZAIRE COULD
HAVE DONE MORE TO DEPOLITICIZE THE CAMPS. BOTH WANT
THE RWANDA GOVERNMENT TO DICKER WITH THE OLD REGIME
FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT AND ARE CONTENT TO USE
THE REFUGEES AS BARGAINING CHIPS TO THAT END. IN
BURUNDI, A COALITION GOVERNMENT CANNOT REIGN IN HUTU
EXTREMISTS AND TUTSI MILITARY CANNOT CONTROL ALL THE
FRONTIER WITHOUT REPRESSIVE MEASURES THAT WOULD
BRING DOWN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE WRATH OF EXTERNAL
DONORS. THUS RWANDA FINDS ITSELF SURROUNDED BY A

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CONSTRUCTIVE BELT OF INSECURITY. HUTU MILITIA WILL BE ABLE TO LAUNCH FRUSTRATION ATTACKS FROM CAMPS IN TANZANIA, BURUNDI, SOUTH AND NORTH KIVU. KAGAME SAYS HE CAN DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM AND, IF ATTACHED, WILL COUNTER AGAINST THE ENEMY IN THE LANDS OF THEIR REFUGE. WE BELIEVE HIM. THE BELT OF INSECURITY AROUND RWANDA COULD BREAK LOOSE INTO CROSS-BORDER BATTLES AND REGIONAL CHAOS.

8. A THEME SOUNDED FROM RECENT DISCUSSIONS WITH RWANDAN OFFICIAL AND VETERAN OBSERVERS IS GROWING CRISIS IN RWANDAN IDENTITY. EVEN AS THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT SEEKS TO EXTEND ITS REACH, RESETTLE REFUGEES AND DISPLACED, LAUNCH A NATIONAL ECONOMY AND CONFRONT INSECURITY ON ITS BORDERS, RWANDA'S LEADERS ARE SENSING A DIMINISHING COHESIVENESS IN NATIONAL IDENTITY. IT WAS THE ASSUMPTION OF THE
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ARUSHA PROCESS, ACCEPTED BY BOTH SIDES, THAT BEING "MUNYARWANDA" ENTITLED ONE TO BE A CITIZEN OF RWANDA AND LIVE THERE. BUT PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU TOLD ME LAST WEEK THAT MANY RETURNING EXILES, WHO MIGHT BE "MUNYARWANDA" BY BLOOD, ARE BY CULTURE AND UPBRINGING SOMETHING QUITE OTHER. GENERAL KAGAME LAMENTED THE EXCEEDING DIFFICULTY OF PEACE WHEN THE WAYS THE NEW GOVERNMENT AND ITS EXILE POPULATION CONCEIVED OF CURRENT ISSUES WERE DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED. [REDACTED] LABELED THESE BIFURCATED PERSPECTIVES AS THE MAJOR IMPEDIMENT TO REINTEGRATION. [REDACTED]

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NOTED THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF RECONCILIATION WHEN PARTIES START FROM MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE POINTS OF VIEW. CLEARLY, "URWANDA RWACU"--"OUR RWANDA" MEANS VERY DIFFERENT THINGS TO UGANDAN RPF, BURUNDI EXILES, RWANDAN HUTU AND RWANDAN TUTSI.

9. WHAT DOES ALL THIS SIGNIFY FOR THE UNITED STATES? WE ARE HERE ENGAGED IN DIPLOMACY, NOT SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY; THE RWANDANS THEMSELVES WILL HAVE TO FIGURE OUT WHO THEY ARE. BUT WE MIGHT HELP PROVIDE STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES IN WHICH THAT SEARCH FOR IDENTITY COULD BE WORKED OUT POSITIVELY RATHER THAN THROUGH MUTUAL DESTRUCTION. GETTING ACCOUNTABILITY THROUGH AN INTERNATIONAL

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INVESTIGATION AND JUDGMENT OF THE MASSACRES AND
OTHER CRIMES AGAINST MANKIND IS ON STEP. HELPING
THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT PROVIDE JUSTICE ACROSS ITS
TERRITORY IS ANOTHER. WE SHOULD ASSIST LOCAL
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GOVERNMENT CARRY OUT ITS RESPONSIBILITIES TO PROTECT
CITIZENS AND SERVE THEIR BASIC NEEDS. WE MIGHT
COUNSEL THE RPA ON INTEGRATING AND DOWNSIZING INTO A
CONVENTIONAL FORCE. WITH SOME MONETIZED PL480, WE
COULD HELP REHABILITATE THE AGRICULTURE SECTOR,
ESPECIALLY IN AREAS WHERE DISPLACED POPULATIONS HAVE
RAVAGED THE ENVIRONMENT. THIS AND OTHER COURSES OF
ACTION ARE INCORPORATED IN OUR DRAFT ACTION PLAN
WHICH I LOOK FORWARD TO DISCUSSING WITH YOU SHORTLY.

10. ONE CRITICAL AREA FALLS OUTSIDE THE PURVIEW OF
THE EMBASSY--SECURITY IN GOMA AND NGARA. I BELIEVE
WE NEED OVERWEENING BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL FORCE
IN THOSE CAMPS NOW. OTHERWISE WE CEDE THE GROUND
AND RWANDA'S FUTURE TO MURDERING MILITIA. I DO NOT
KNOW HOW WE ACCOMPLISH THAT OBJECTIVE, BUT WE MUST
KEEP CONSULTING WITH OUR FRIENDS ABOUT IT. WE
SHOULD SHORTLY HAVE IN HAND THE UNHCR/UNAMIR/ZAIRE
SURVEY ON MOVING THE RWANDAN ARMY, A DOCUMENT WHICH

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-----7E6235 181616Z /25

O 181538Z OCT 94
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0797

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 ROME 016645

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FOR AF AND AF/C FROM RAWSON

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TAGS: PREL, EAID, US, RW
SUBJECT: RWANDA AT THREE MONTHS

COULD BE THE SPRINGBOARD FOR A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW
OF THE PROBLEM. THIS IS THE MOST URGENT MATTER NOW
BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS IT RESPONDS TO
RWANDA'S CRISIS THREE MONTHS ON. BARTHOLOMEW

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